1:Takakura ; H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

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needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

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This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu"[a] but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

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[a] *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772–1780 have forseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.[4]

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."[5]

Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ōhara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gūdan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages:

1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

[4] Seiiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 2: 171.

[5] Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.[27] It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,[28] and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

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3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.[29]

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

[27] The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no Nōgyō (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[28] "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . . ."

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[29] Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"! 117

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food. 512 221 562 462 242 243 244 222 262 251 252

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But. 242 829

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.